The Church and social problems

# THE CHURCH
AND
# PERMANENT PEACE

105 East 22nd Street
New York City

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AND
# PERMANENT PEACE

## A SUMMARY REPORT
OF
THE FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF
THE WORLD ALLIANCE FOR PROMOTING
INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP
THROUGH THE CHURCHES

HELD APRIL 25—27, 1916
AT
GARDEN CITY, NEW YORK

REV. SIDNEY L. GULICK
REV. FREDERICK LYNCH } SECRETARIES
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# FOREWORD

Europe's tragedy began August 1, 1914. On that very day there assembled in Constance, Germany, over eighty delegates representing the Churches of many lands to confer as to the duty and opportunity of Christians to promote better international relations. This was the first international conference of Christians for the promotion of world peace, but it was too late. The tragedy was on. The War Lords were in control and Christians and the Churches were powerless.

Emperor William had been so interested in the proposed Conference that, in spite of many absorbing duties, he sent his own special representative to the conference—Dr. Siegmund Schultze. Through his aid, although Germany was under martial law and nowhere could six persons gather for a meeting, special exception was made for this international conference of Christians. On August 2 three sessions were held and steps were taken for the establishment of a World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches.

On Monday, August 3, the Conference took train in a body on the last express out of Constance, slowly traveled down the Rhine, and passed out of Germany only an hour before the entire passenger service of the country was closed. Reaching London, we heard the jeers of the world hurled at Christianity, and especially at Christian pacifists. Christianity, we were told, was a failure, was bankrupt, because it had not stopped the war; yet those Christians who would do what they could to stop all wars were derided, not only as impracticable folk, but as ignorant of history and of human nature.

In London an adjourned meeting was held and decisions were reached whereby a Committee of sixty was established for completing the proposed World Alliance. So far from being discouraged, the conviction grew with the experience of Europe's frightful tragedy that the Churches and Christians of Europe and America must

cooperate in large and wise ways and for years to come, in order to produce that mental, moral and spiritual attitude in each nation which is essential to permanent world peace—namely, genuine international goodwill.

Since August, 1914, the International Committee of the World Alliance has been quietly at work. The British Group has been the most active, securing members amounting now to over 5,000, publishing a magazine, "Goodwill", and taking steps for a larger work in the near future.

Professor Benjamin F. Battin has traveled among all the nations of Europe promoting the establishment of National Councils—of which there are now eight on the Continent, one in Great Britain and one in America.

The American Committee of thirteen has been slowly maturing plans for an important work. These plans have finally taken shape and were given national publicity at the Conference held in Garden City, New York, April 25-27, 1916.

It has been decided to issue this brief report of the Conference rather than a volume. It is hoped that prompt and wide response will be secured for the constructive proposals now placed before the Churches of America. For in the establishment of a better world-order, one more rational and also more Christian, there must be wide cooperation.

## THE AMERICAN COUNCIL

The American Council consists of two hundred and fifty of the leading Christian citizens and statesmen of the United States, outstanding members, lay and clerical, who come from forty different communions whose combined church membership exceeds 23,000,000.

Among such an eminent group it is impossible to select names for special mention; the full list with only the briefest reference to their positions in their respective bodies makes a fair-sized booklet. On this Council are bishops, moderators and ex-moderators of assemblies, pastors of influential churches, speakers of the highest ability, writers of epoch-making books, secretaries of denominational societies and of interdenominational and undenominational movements, men of eminence in social service and political life, presidents and professors in universities, colleges and theological institutions, and men of conspicuous ability in constructive, legal and diplomatic work for the establishment of world organization. It is doubtful if any other group in the United States is so widely representative of the best life and constructive activity of our people. The members of the Council are widely scattered throughout our land from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

## THE CONFERENCE

The Conference was held at the Garden City Hotel, April 25-27. There were five sessions, each crowded to the utmost with illuminating and inspiring address.

The sessions were opened by brief devotional services led by—

Rev. J. Ross Stevenson, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Rev. C. F. Woelfkin, D. D., Pastor of the Fifth Avenue Baptist Church, New York City.

Rev. Peter Ainslie, D.D., LL.D., Pastor of the Christian Temple, Baltimore, Md.

Rev. Nehemiah Boynton, D.D., Pastor of the Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Rev. Plato T. Durham, D.D., Dean of the Candler School of Theology of Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.

The following gentlemen presided at the successive sessions:

Rev. J. B. Remensnyder, D.D., LL.D., Ex-President of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the United States.

Hon. Henry Mitchell MacCracken, D.D., LL.D., Chancellor-Emeritus of New York University.

Rev. James L. Barton, D.D., LL.D., Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., Ex-Governor of Connecticut.

Rev. William P. Merrill, D.D., President-Elect of the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches.

The splendid addresses of the five sessions took up various phases of the following themes:

The Church and the New Internationalism.
The World Task of the Church.
The Church and the Oriental Problem.
The Church and International Government.
The Spirit of Jesus in International Relations.

The speakers at the successive sessions were:

On Tuesday Evening—

Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D., General Secretary of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Rev. W. H. P. Faunce, D.D., LL.D., President of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

John R. Mott, LL.D., General Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association.

On Wednesday Morning—

Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D., Secretary of the Commission on Peace and Arbitration of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Rev. Frederick Lynch, D.D., Secretary of the Church Peace Union and Joint Secretary with Rt. Hon. W. H. Dickinson, M.P. of the International Committee, World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches.

Professor Benjamin F. Battin, Ph.D., Organizing Secretary of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches for special work in Europe.

Rev. William P. Merrill, D.D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New York City, and President of the American Council of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches.

On Wednesday Afternoon—

Robert E. Speer, D.D., Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

Rev. Arthur J. Brown, D.D., Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions.

Rev. Frank Mason North, D.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, D.D.,

On Wednesday Evening—

Talcott Williams, Litt.D., LL.D., Dean of the School of Journalism, Columbia University.

Professor William I. Hull, Ph.D., Professor of History and International Relations, Swarthmore College.

On Thursday Morning—

Rev. Gaius Glenn Atkins, LL.B., D.D., Pastor Central Congregational Church, Providence, R. I., and recipient of the Church Peace Union $1000 prize for Essay on Peace (1915).

Rev. James I. Vance, D.D., LL.D., Pastor First Presbyterian Church, Nashville, Tenn.

Rev. Martin D. Hardin, D.D., Pastor Third Presbyterian Church, Chicago, Ill.

A full record of the Conference addresses would fill a large volume. As such volumes, however, have but limited circulation, it has been decided not to bury the splendid addresses, but to give them to the press at an early date. Their spirit, outlook and appeals are embodied in the Declaration and Resolutions given on a later page.

After the business of the Conference was completed and all the addresses made, the closing twenty minutes of the final session were devoted to a season of prayer and supplication. The great task of the Church in casting out, whether from individuals or from nations, the spirit of selfishness and of instilling the spirit of neighborliness and brotherhood cannot be accomplished by mechanical methods or mere considerations of utility or economic advantage. A Christian world-order can be established only by men of faith and prayer. It was fitting that this Conference which makes Christian Internationalism its goal should, during its closing moments, wait in faith and prayer on Him whence flows the spiritual forces which alone can secure the desired result. A dozen brief prayers following in quick succession voiced the yearning of all hearts.

## BRIEF QUOTATIONS FROM THE ADDRESSES

### The Church and the New Internationalism

"We have come to the time of all times * * * All European life and civilization is cast into the melting pot. * * * We are living in a time of plasticity. The old moulds have been broken and civilization will be reformed. * * * All things may become new if the Christian Church will manifest the requisite leadership and will be seized by the passionate spirit of the sacrifice of her Lord."

"An international society which is very frankly selfish fails us in the trying hour."

"How to stop the war we do not inquire. We do not want the war stopped until peace can be established on a basis of justice. Our task rather is to understand the war and to work for the prevention of such folly and stupidity in the future."

"We do not need to come together merely to describe the beauty and desirability of peace. In fact, peace as sometimes pictured, as the mere negation of strife, is not in itself desirable."

"Peace that is a mere vacuum no man desires. Nature itself abhors a vacuum. I myself believe in adequate defense of the nation, even though I may not be able to define the word adequate in a rapidly changing environment."

"In all these countries organized Christianity * * * in its traditional forms did not shed its rays with sufficient adequacy to arrest this War."

"Where is the nation which can conscientiously say 'We have been governed by the example, the principles and the spirit of Jesus Christ'? * * * The last thing that has been tried is the leadership of Jesus. We have tried these other paths and have seen where they lead."

"Love your enemies does not mean hate them, fight them, kill them. Can you imagine Jesus Christ, who embodies His own commands, thrusting a bayonet into another man's side? Can you imagine Jesus Christ touching the fires that would scatter the limbs and bodies of men over the grass of Europe's plains?"

"We have got to change the opinions of millions of people inside of the Christian churches and along with it the dispositions and lives of the people * * * It is going to be a great propaganda. We cannot make it easy. Nothing whatever is to be gained by avoiding the call of our difficulties or the gravity of our problems. This is not an easy propaganda * * * but it is worth dying for that it may be achieved in our day."

"Here is the Church's opportunity. We must unite men on the great spiritual realities, and make them see that these are supreme. We must show men the folly and fallacy of a "preparedness" policy which is concerned only with outward equipment, and counts that sufficient. But we must see just as clearly that the man or church whose only message is a *protest* against outward equipment, who counts preparedness in armament the chief danger, is standing on the same materialistic plane as that on which the advocate of mailed force stands. The Church must declare and make men see that supreme above all questions of size or armament is the question of that spirit that is in a nation, the ideals that guide it, the policies it espouses and maintains. There is a spirit without which an unarmed nation would be cowardly and contemptible, and without which an armed nation would be a bully and a thug. Let the man who believes in preparedness confess, if he be a Christian, that he would rather see America unarmed and defenseless than unjust and merciless and savage in her might; let the man who opposes further armament confess, if he be a Christian, that he would rather see America burdened with a huge army and navy than

greedy and fat and degenerate. And let both of them, while standing manfully each for the national policy he thinks right, stand together in the realization that above all things America needs the right spirit, the character that will make her a worthy part of the world's life. The Christian may be on the one side or on the other. But he cannot be a Christian unless he counts that spirit supreme over both sides in importance. "Neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature."

"The New Internationalism teaches the equal right of all nations and races, small and great, to share in the world's resources, and in opportunity for free development, for expanding life. The Human Race is one and essentially indivisible. Its groups are indeed natural products of its history, but they are not independent in any absolute sense. The real welfare of all is bound up in that of each. We constitute a family of nations—an international brotherhood. We are members one of another—and none, however powerful, may ignore the rights and welfare of the rest, however small and weak."

## The World Task of the Church

"The need of the world measures the task of the Church."

"In the light of Europe's tragedy Christians are catching fresh visions of the world's need and of the Christian's task."

"This new vision of the Task of the Church is the vision of embodying the Kingdom of God in the largest relations—of peoples, nations and races. Righteousness and goodwill must prevail not only between men in their individual relations and in the social relations of class with class, but also in the relations of nations and races. Nothing less than this can satisfy the Christian ideal of the Kingdom of God. In the realization, however, of this ideal, the Christian Church has its unique and indispensible contribution to make. The New Internationalism, we may safely affirm, cannot arise or become effective without the help that the Christian Church alone can give."

"The Church has today 'the opportunity of a thousand years'. The mind and heart, and even the institutions of Christendom are in flux. The destiny of the world for centuries to come is being fashioned afresh in the fires of Europe's tragedy. The passions, ambitions, aspirations of millions are aroused. Whence shall come the divine voice of guidance that shall direct men's minds to those universal and absolute principles of life and conduct that can alone safeguard the nations from fresh catastrophies? Who shall declare to the nations that universal human brotherhood is not merely a beautiful dream for the cloister, but a practical principle to be incorporated into the doings of the daily life—in business and in politics; yes, and in the relations of nations? To utter afresh this call to the world with a voice that shall be heard, and to show how it may be realized in fact—this is the opportunity of the hour which the Church has not had for centuries."

"If the United States were to spend as much on well considered methods for international helpfulness as it spends upon its army and navy, a dollar for goodwill to every dollar for military equipments, what magnificent results might not be secured?"

"The great work of reconciliation and reconstruction constitutes the great objective for our Christian Churches."

"The one thing which has been our strongest asset of influence has been the relief work of America and the American churches."

"On the other hand our most serious weakness is due to the reproach in which we are held because of the allegation, more or less made upon the part of all the nations, that we are utilizing the war for our economic and commercial gain."

"Our best counteracting influence is and will be our work of relief. Again and again, men who criticize our government and our commercial interests, declare that our common people and high-minded men of wealth have largely rectified mistakes in other quarters."

"Might we not issue an immediate call in this matter to the churches and to the American people? Our brethren abroad are saying that, while we may have been confused on the issues of the war, we have entered straight upon the one clear duty of relief, and we shall greatly strengthen our position and influence by opening this door more widely."

"Christian leaders all proclaim that they seek peace with justice, but has not the Christian Church a contribution to make towards this end, without losing her own distinctive spiritual mission, and without casting to the winds her spirit of reconciliation?"

"The world must face the future with a sense of brotherhood in Jesus Christ that shall be able to rise

above national, racial and geographic distinctions, and be able to supplant the distinctions."

"Whatever institutions may be projected by a war-sick world, whether it be a League of Nations, a World Court, Arbitration Treaties or Councils of Conciliation, the Church should exert greatest influence in creating the sentiment that shall demand the substitution of judicial processes for war in the settlement of international disputes."

"Unless the nations go to the Peace Conference with a new purpose to enthrone the Spirit of Jesus in international relationships the Conference of the Nations will not take steps worth while."

"Unless a new sense of brotherhood in Jesus Christ can be engendered in the nations simultaneously with the creation of such (peace) machinery, that machinery itself will fail of its high purpose."

"The Church should play the most important part in creating such a new order of civilization that this awful denial of human unity and brotherhood should never become possible again."

"A World Conference of the Churches would be one of the most effective means of inaugurating the movement for a new order, an order where the ethics of Jesus shall be the guiding principle of international relationships, as they are already the basis of the relationship of man to man within the nations."

"The task which confronts the world just now is to bring about a *real unity* in the organized life of mankind. The time has come when the civilized world must take another and forward step. Humanity has mounted from clan organization, through cities and states, to federations and empires. It must take the last great and decisive step of world-organization.

"Many forces must co-operate to bring about this result. It is in part a political development, in part a juridical, in large part it must be an economic development. It will demand the highest skill and the greatest energy of which man is capable along all these lines. To make world-organization effective, an international court must be worked out, the problem of international policing must be solved, and—most vital of all—a way or ways must be found whereby the economic interests of the great nations may be clearly shown to be closely identified with the success of the world-organization.

"In the case of all these movements, or developments, the church will be called upon to push and to help. World Court Congresses, Leagues to Enforce Peace, and all the rest, will appeal to the church for moral and practical support. And the Church should respond with all the influence it can exert.

"But the real and great part the Church is to play in this world task is not in being a helper or adjunct in these movements. The Church has something more than *moral influence* to contribute. Far more important is it that the Church shall do well its own distinctive part in the task of bringing about real and enduring world-unity. What is that distinctive function of the Church? As I see it, it is to give to the movement toward world-unity a *sanctity* and a *spirit*.

"Somehow we must *lift men's loyalty above their local patriotisms*. That is the supreme need, if ever we are to have real world-organization.

"What can give to international government, to world-organization, that heart-appeal, that power to arouse a loyalty that shall catch up into itself and carry over into something higher and finer the high and fine instinct of patriotism? What is there that can do it save the vision Jesus saw, 'The Kingdom of God?'

"Against the pernicious doctrine that a sovereign state is irresponsible, because there is no higher power to which it owes allegiance, the Church must assert uncompromisingly that above all kingdoms is the kingdom of God."

"Real internationalism, actual world-organization, can never come and abide so long as men believe that outward force is ultimate arbiter. Men must be awakened to the fact that spiritual forces are supreme."

## The Church and the Oriental Problem

"The Church has two great duties; one is to evangelize the Oriental nations; the other is to Christianize the relations sustained to these nations by the nations which are called Christian. These two duties are inseparable."

"We cannot reap right relationships out of false conceptions. Until we get our relations right between ourselves and the Eastern world it is vain for us to think that we can make our policies right."

"We have listened entirely too long to nonsense regarding chasms run across humanity that can never be bridged. We must believe that it is absolutely possible to establish relationships of genuine international goodwill and effection between ourselves and the Oriental peoples."

"We have got to believe that nations can love one another even across the Pacific Ocean. The Christian Church must set herself to lead in that affection. We must not content ourselves with projecting the duty into the distant future or looking at the platform that lifts it beyond the level of our immediate and practical duty."

"Superior theology is no excuse for inferior morality. If we have a clearer view of God than the Oriental nations, then we must judge ourselves by stricter standards than we apply to them."

"Surely we of all men ought to stand for the great conviction that there is only one race, and that is the human race."

"A Chinese delegate at the Edinburgh Conference stood before that great assembly and said, 'Men of the West, my nation has broken with its past, and we need your help in guiding our people into the new path.' What shall be our attitude in such circumstances? Shall we treat these other nations with jealousy? Shall we talk

about the 'yellow peril?' You would find Asiatics talking about the 'white peril'. The pending question between our Government and Japan illustrates what I mean."

"No one who is familiar with the trend of Japanese thought today is ignorant of the fact that intelligent Japanese feel that Japan has a grievance against the United States. I have no sympathy whatever with the notion that it is our duty to stand by everything that our country does, irrespective of its moral quality. Men have said, 'My country! May she ever be right; but, right or wrong, my country.' There is a sense in which that is true, but in the sense that the words naturally suggest, that is a pagan sentiment. I believe that the Japanese have a just grievance against the American people in the matter of their treatment in California. I do not say that I am in favor of unrestricted immigration, but the Japanese Government does not ask for that. It is honorably carrying out the 'Gentlemen's Agreement'. The Japanese simply ask that their subjects who come to America shall be treated with justice, consideration and common decency that we would accord to other people."

"Let us remember that Jesus Christ not only taught an ideal, but died for it. Surely it is our place as his followers to see if we cannot attain to it. The foreign missionary enterprise is an earnest effort to exemplify this ideal. It is the antithesis of war. It stands for those relations between nations which would make war between them impossible. It says: "Other peoples are our brethren. We do not need to arm ourselves against them, but to go to them with altruistic and helpful acts. If the Church is ever to vindicate its mission as the bearer of peace and goodwill to men, it must apply itself to this task with renewed effort. We must write the name of Jesus large on the world's sky, make the

voice of Jesus the deep undertone of human life. We must apply the spirit of Jesus to these international as well as to the social and individual relationships."

"America's crucial problem with Asia lies, not in Asia, but in America. Not our diplomacy in the Far East, but our treatment of Asiatics in the Far West is to be determinative of our Oriental Relations."

"The problem of world-peace is not primarily the problem of treaties, arbitration provisions and Hague Courts, but of mutual goodwill and confidence among the nations. How can this spirit be developed? If Asia fears and distrusts Christendom because of continued injustice, Asia will arm. As Asia arms Christendom will increasingly fear and distrust her. The way to establish goodwill and mutual confidence between the East and the West is for Christendom to act toward Asia in right and helpful ways. We must voluntarily do her justice, keep our treaties and deal with all Asiatics who come to our lands in ways that embody the Golden Rule."

"The international relations of nations, as of individuals, must be essentially Christian if there is to be world-peace and wholesome development. Nations must not only be just and honest, but they must be kindly and helpful in their international relations. They must regard and treat each other on the basis of universal human brotherhood. This and this alone will evoke real goodwill and mutual trust."

"On the right attitude of the West to the East hangs the fate of the whole world for centuries to come."

## The Church and International Government

"The crowning duty both of maintaining international peace by the sword of some international magistrate and also of submitting to peaceful methods all international disputes, has never been taught or required by the Christian Church. The day has come when its prayers, its preaching and the action of its members should recognize the obligation of every nation to prevent and suppress aggressive war, as of every citizen to prevent and suppress riot. An International League to ENFORCE PEACE, and its member-nations ready to use force to keep the peace, can end war, and in due time bring world-peace, if the Church of Christ in all lands and most of all in this land requires nations, as in the past it has required individuals, to submit to law and to support the enforcement as a Christian duty."

"For the United States to arm to defend its borders is necessarily a narrow, and self-centered proceeding. For the United States to arm to act with other nations, in a League to Enforce Peace is to protect not only itself, but the world."

"It is the peculiar duty of the Christian Church to see to it that the phrase 'the solidarity of the race' shall remain no mere academic formula, and that the motto 'each for all and all for each', shall not remain in the realm of poetry and moonshine, but shall be put into actual practice."

"Mediation is rational in that it is based upon cooler, less partial counsel than that of the disputants involved in the quarrel. That it is practicable, is proved by frequent experience in the two Americas, in preventing wars, and by its success in the treaty of Portsmouth, which brought the then unprecedented war between Russia and Japan to a close."

"International Commissions of Inquiry are also based upon reason, in that they are designed simply to ascertain and publish the truth about international disputes; they are simply a practical application of the reasonable advice to investigate before you fight, and then, in nine times out of ten, you will not fight at all. They have been justified, also, by successful practice, a war between Great Britain and Russia having been prevented by one of them."

"International arbitration is rational in that it is founded upon the undisputed fact that every question has two sides, both of which have a right to careful investigation and consideration. It, too, has proved itself applicable to the settlement of disputes between nations by a long and successful series of arbitral decisions. Since 1794, it has settled about 243 international disputes, some of which were of a serious character and long standing. Since 1899, a Permanent Court of Arbitration has existed with its headquarters at the Hague, and it has settled fifteen international disputes within the past dozen years. Before this greatest of earthly tribunals, all of the eight 'great powers', with the exception of Austria-Hungary, have stood as litigants; our own Republic repeatedly, Great Britain, Russia, Italy, Japan, Germany, France. One of its decisions settled a dispute between Germany and France, the rivals of a half-century."

"It is noteworthy that the rational and Christian method of settling international disputes by arbitration has proved so effective that not a single member of the Family of Nations has 'refused to hear' the voice of justice when proclaimed by the arbitral tribunal, or to abide by the arbitral award when rendered. If now, the Christian Church can render effective aid to the international statesmen in creating and sustaining some such device for bringing international disputes invariably before arbitral tribunals as was provided by President

Taft's General Arbitration Treaties with Great Britain and France in 1911, the most difficult problem of our time will be solved, and nations will indeed learn war no more."

## The Spirit of Jesus in International Relationships

"America's greatest assurance against disaster is to treat other nations right."

"If there is anything that is to solve the problem which confronts the world today, it is the spirit of Jesus."

"We shall never have permanent, lasting and real peace until the spirit of Jesus takes control of the affairs of the world."

"The spirit of Jesus is equal to the task. It is big enough and broad enough. Christ's gospel is rich enough to fill our world. Every nationality finds itself in Jesus."

"The safety of this nation is in its character. If America is to be kept out of war, if America is to achieve a future worth while, it will not be by reason of large armaments. I suppose we have got to increase our navy and our army. I don't want to be a fanatic on this subject. I suppose we have to do this, although I confess I don't have any interest on the subject."

"The spirit of Jesus is something more than the spirit of justice. We have got to do more than give nations a square deal. The spirit of Jesus in internationalism is the spirit of mercy. When a nation comes and asks you to go with it a mile, the spirit of Jesus demands that you go twain."

"And when this spirit takes possession of America we shall not be thinking about commercial supremacy and financial gains which we may make out of war, how we can save ourselves from getting into war; but we shall be thinking how we can play the Good Samaritan among

the nations of the earth. The spirit of Jesus is strong enough and tender enough and appealing enough to solve the problem. It is the spirit of Jesus that makes the world great and good."

"Christianity is more than an ideal by which we are to be judged, it supplies us great positive and wholly adequate conceptions of peace."

"War today is such a tremendous and far-flung enterprise that it insists upon being judged by its own standards, and seeks contemptuously to dismiss all conventions and standards opposed to it. But war cannot so dispose of Christianity and its hopes. Christianity and not war is the final court of appeal. Christianity supplies us the moral standards by which an unbrotherly world is to be judged and by the decision of that court our civilization stands indicted."

"The ideal of international friendship which Christianity supplies is big enough to meet the objections and quiet the fear of those who think of peace as something partial, cowardly or unworthy. Christianity does not so conceive peace. The peace which Christianity exalts is not the peace of surrender but of affirmation, a peace in which each one has secured to him what is most distinctive and blessedly his own while recognizing the right of his neighbor to what is most distinctive and blessedly his own. Christian peace is the allegiance to something great enough to reconcile competing interests and hostile forces and diverse nationalities."

"Christianity offers us the method of attaining international friendliness. It teaches us that if we are to change our world we must change human nature. It assures us that human nature can be changed. It offers us the supreme forces which make for moral and spiritual transformation. We know as well as our critics that we cannot get rid of war until we change human nature, and we know better than our critics how great a task

we have undertaken, but we do not despair. The whole enterprise of life is based on the confidence that human nature can be changed. The testimony of the past is that in great regions human nature has been changed. Christianity is in the world to change human nature and in the direction which we are seeking to follow. It avails itself of every educational and inspirational force, it deals very patiently with the willful and the stupid, it addresses itself directly to the individual, it believes that it is reinforced by the Spirit of God, Himself, so it holds itself bravely to the task of making a better world, of making better men and women."

"This infinite madness—this is what the world comes to without the spirit of Jesus Christ."

"How infinitely tragical is the earth's condition when we try to run this place without the spirit of Jesus."

"Jesus Christ called for an absolute devotion to His principles of love and of human brotherhood."

"Something makes me have a new faith in the great heart of mankind when I see the loyalty of the nations, able to go to the uttermost because they have been taught to believe it is their duty. All that we have to do is to believe in the ideals of Jesus Christ and the Kingdom of God on earth with the same earnestness and with the same belief that has been behind the ordinary type of patriotism."

"What we need is faith to know that the Christ has incarnated those ideals for which the whole heart of humanity is hungering, and that only absolute devotion to Him can make those ideals go on until they penetrate and impress all human relations."

"I am very grateful to have attended this meeting. I have found here a spirit which has helped me through and through. I have found here the conscious realization in the hearts of the men that we must know the power

longing for a power which will adequately cope with the problem that is before us. I have found here an absolute sincerity of purpose and unity of desire, no matter how we may differ as to some of the practical details that are before us; and I shall go back to my own field of labor with a new strength in my heart because of this meeting and a new hope and belief that the Church of Jesus Christ may and will rise to her glorious opportunity in the great hour."

## ORGANIZATION AND OFFICERS

On Wednesday, April 26, the National Council was formally organized by the adoption of the Constitution of the World Alliance. This constitution had been drafted at the Conference at Constance and, with modifications, ratified and sent to the various National Councils by the Conference held at Berne, Switzerland, August 26, 1915.

The election of an Honorary President and of Honorary Vice-Presidents was referred to the Executive Committee, with power.

The officers elected were:

President.....Rev. William P. Merrill
Vice-President.....John R. Mott
Treasurer.....George A. Plimpton
Secretaries.....Rev. Frederick Lynch
Rev. Sidney L. Gulick

Executive Committee:

The above officers ex-officio and—

| | |
|---|---|
| Rev. Peter Ainslie | Rev. Geo. Wm. Douglas |
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## DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS

Many resolutions and suggestions were offered regarding utterances by the Conference on the duty and opportunity of the Church at this time of world crisis. It was felt, however, that a brief declaration and few resolutions would be more effective than a long declaration and many resolutions.

Especial attention is called to the invitation of the Council to all communions in the United States to establish *Peace Makers Commissions* for cooperation with the American Council of the World Alliance. Response to this invitation is highly important if this world-movement of Christians is to succeed in its efforts to aid in establishing better international relations.

Attention is also called to the invitation to every local church to establish its own *Peace Makers Committee.* Whether this World Alliance shall effect much or little in promoting active goodwill in America toward other nations; whether or not American Christian citizens will insist that we must ourselves keep faith and good neighborliness with Asiatics, promote international justice and establish helpful and constructive activities in our relations with all races and nations, depends in no small part on the response of individual congregations to this invitation to establish *Peace Makers Committees* and to cooperate in nation-wide education in the principles and methods of Christian Internationalism.

### DECLARATION

We believe it is time for the Christian Church to speak and to act in the strength and assurance of a deep and full loyalty to Jesus Christ.

We rejoice in all the efforts which are being made by men of good intent to substitute judicial process for war and to effect world organization.

We urge the people of the Churches to co-operate heartily in these brave attempts to take the final and decisive step in the evolution of government. But we know that all these efforts are foredoomed to failure unless they rest upon a spirit of good-will and brotherhood and evoke a passionate devotion stronger than all limited and local loyalties.

In a time of disillusion and strife, when men's hearts faint and doubt, let Christian men believe and try to make all men believe that the gospel of love and faith and hope is practical, the only practical way of life for men and for nations, and that loyalty to the Kingdom of God is supreme above all other loyalties.

## RESOLUTIONS

RESOLVED: That since permanent peace must be ultimately based on religious sanctions, and back of all international organizations must be good-will, the American Council call a representative congress of the Churches of the World, to meet at the close of this war, when and where the terms of peace shall be discussed, or in such other European centre as may be deemed expedient, to consider how the Churches of the world may help to establish a new international order and above all to insist that the nations of the world act toward each other in accordance with those principles of mutual justice and fairness which regulate the relations of good men everywhere, and that the carrying out of this plan be referred to the Executive Committee.

RESOLVED: That we call upon the Churches of America to make sacrifical efforts to contribute for the relief of the suffering peoples in Europe and Asia without regard to race, religion, nationality, thus giving powerful proof of Christian good-will.

RESOLVED: That this Council invite every local congregation in the United States to establish its own *Peace Makers Committee* through which to co-operate in this world movement.

RESOLVED: That the Executive Committee be instructed to transmit to all national ecclesiastical bodies in the United States copies of the resolutions adopted and invite them to take such action as they may deem wise in order to co-operate in this world movement, and particularly to establish, if they have not already done so, their own *Peace Makers Commissions.*

RESOLVED: That the Council urge upon the Churches:

(a) Careful study both of the Oriental problem itself and also of the proposals for a fundamental solution which have been offered, including comprehensive immigration legislation free from race discrimination;

(b) Such action as may seem wise for embodying in local and national legislation and in our international relations, the Christian ideal of universal brotherhood, guaranteeing to all peoples, small and great, east and west, the enjoyment of just and equal treatment.

The following resolution was presented at the close of the last session and was referred to the Executive Committee, with power:

RESOLVED: That this Conference earnestly approves all efforts so to shape our pending immigration measures that they shall recognize existing agreements with other nations, and avoid such actions as would tend to imply distrust of such nations and impugn their honor. We deeply deplore all efforts that create or imply such distrust of those agreements especially when the nations concerned have reassured us of their intention to keep them faithfully.

In the light of this principle, we deprecate the utterances by or through the public press which would tend

to embitter the feelings and injure the relations of good-will now existing between America and the Asiatic and other nations, especially such as, without evidence and by gratuitous assumption, impugn the motives and purposes of these nations in their relations with our nation.

At the first meeting of the Executive Committee, held immediately after the Conference, this resolution was passed and ordered published.

# PREAMBLE AND CONSTITUTION

OF

# THE WORLD ALLIANCE FOR PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES

## OBJECT

Inasmuch as the work of conciliation and the promotion of amity is essentially a Christian task, it is expedient that the churches in all lands should use their influence with the peoples, parliaments and governments of the world to bring about good and friendly relations between the nations, so that, along the path of peaceful civilization, they may reach that universal goodwill which Christianity has taught mankind to aspire after.

Inasmuch as all sections of the Church of Christ are equally concerned in the maintenance of peace and the promotion of good feeling among all races of the world, it is advisable for them to act in concert in their efforts to carry the foregoing resolution into effect.

In order to enable the different churches to be brought into touch with one another, steps should be taken to form in every country councils of either a denominational or interdenominational character (as the circumstances of each case require), whose object it will be to enlist the churches, in their corporate capacity, in a joint endeavor to achieve the promotion of international friendship and the avoidance of war, and that for this purpose a central bureau should be established for facilitating correspondence between such councils, collecting and distributing information, and generally coordinating the work connected with the movement.

## CONSTITUTION

I. The Alliance shall consist of Constituent Councils formed in accordance with the third resolution, and having as their object the object of the Alliance as set out above.

### Constituent Councils

II. Every Constituent Council shall appoint its own officers, make its own rules, and administer its own affairs in such manner as it thinks best suited for the requirements and conditions of its own work.

### Annual Reports

III. Every Constituent Council shall, on or before the 1st of March, send to the Central Committee a report of the work done during the last calendar year, and the International Committee shall collect and print all these reports, and circulate them, together with a report of their own work, to all the Constituent Councils.

### The International Committee

IV. There shall be an International Committee consisting of members nominated by the Constituent Councils. A member shall hold office for three years from the date of his nomination, but may be renominated. The number of members to be nominated by each Constituent Council shall be determined from time to time by the International Committee.

### New Constituent Councils

V. The International Committee may recognize a new Constituent Council, and shall decide the number of members which such Council may nominate to the International Committee.

### Duties of the International Committee

VI. The International Committee shall deal with all matters of common interest to the Alliance and regulate the general conduct of its affairs, and shall keep the Constituent Councils in touch with one another and acquainted with the progress of the movement. It shall summon a general conference of the Alliance whenever it deems this to be advisable. It shall elect its own officers, and may appoint sub-committees and delegate to such sub-committees such of its own powers as it may think fit.

THE BUREAU

VII. The International Committee shall establish and maintain a Bureau with such officers as may be necessary for conducting the affairs of the Alliance.

ALTERATION OF RULES

VIII. These rules may be altered either at a general conference of Constituent Councils summoned for the purpose, or by the International Committee recommending the alteration to all the Constituent Councils and obtaining the written consent of three-fourths of those Councils to the proposed alteration.

## REPRESENTATION OF CONSTITUENT COUNCILS

It was resolved that until otherwise decided by the International Committee the existing Constituent Councils shall be represented by the following numbers of delegates, and each Council shall be entitled to nominate members to fill vacancies that may occur in their number:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The American Council ..... | 13 | members |
| The British Council ..... | 8 | " |
| The French Council ..... | 8 | " |
| The German Council ..... | 8 | " |
| The Danish Council ..... | 4 | " |
| The Dutch Council ..... | 4 | " |
| The Italian Council ..... | 4 | " |
| The Norwegian Council ..... | 4 | " |
| The Swedish Council ..... | 4 | " |
| The Swiss Council ..... | 4 | " |

In the event of a member being unable to attend a meeting of the International Committee, the Council of which he is a member may appoint a substitute.

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## of the
## AMERICAN COUNCIL

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